Considerations and Propoſals

In Order to the

Regulation

OF THE

PRESS:

TOGETHER WITH

Diverſe *Inſtances* of *Treaſonous*, and *Seditious Pamphlets*, Proving the *Neceſsity* thereof.

BY

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LONDON, Printed by *A. C. June* 3d. *M. DC. LXIII.*

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TO THE KINGS Most Excellent MAJESTY.

SIR,

IT is not without some *Force* upon my *self*, that I have Resolv'd upon This *Dedication*; for I have no Ambition to appear *Pragmatical*, and to become the *Marque* of a *Peevish Faction*: But since my *Duty* will have it Thus, I shall accompt all *Other Interests* as *Nothing* in Competition with my *Allegiance*.

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If Your Majesty shall vouchsafe to look *so far*, and *so low*, as into the *Ensuing Treatise*, You will find it, *Sir*, to be *Partly*, *a Deliberative Discourse* about the *Means* of *Regulating* the *Press*; (the matter being at This Instant under Publique Debate) and in *Part*, an *Extract* of certain *Treasonous*, and *Seditious Passages*, and *Positions*, which may serve to Evince the *Necessity* of That *Regulation*. The *Latter* of which, I do most Humbly Offer to Your *Royal Consideration*, not presuming in any Sort, to Concern *Your Majesty* in the *Former*.

In *This Extract*, is presented to *your Majesties view*; *First*, That *Spirit* of *Hypocrisie*, *Scandal*, *Malice*, *Errour*, and *Illusion*, that Actuated the *Late Rebellion*. *Secondly*, A *Manifestation* of the *same Spirit Reigning still*, and *working*, not only by the *same Means*, but in very many of the *same Persons*, and to the *same Ends*; That is, There is a *Combination*, and *Design* against Your *Sacred Life*, and *Dignity*, which is carryed on by the *same Arguments*, *Pretences*, *Wayes*, and *Instruments*, that *Ruin'd* Your *Royal*, and *Blessed Father*.

All

All which, I think my self *Bound*, not only in *Generals*, to *Declare*; but more *Particularly*, to *Trace*, and to *Discover* to Your *Majesty*, as a *Duty* which I owe both to *God*, and to my *Sovereign*.

The *first* part of the *Conspirators Work*, is to *disaffect* the *People* toward Your Majesties *Person* and *Government*; and their *next Business* is to *Encourage*, and *Carry on* those *Seditious Inclinations* into *Action*.

Touching the *Former*; *Scarce any one* Regicide *or* Traytor *has been brought to* Publique Justice, *since Your Majesties Blessed Return*, *whom either the* Pulpit *hath not* Canonized *for a* Saint, *or the* Press Recommended *for a* Patriot, *and* Martyr. (beside the *Arraignment* of the *Bench*, for the very *Formalityes* of their *Tryals*.) What is the *Intent*, or what may be the *Effect* of Suggesting to the *People*, that there is no *Justice* to be found, either in Your *Cause*, or in Your *Courts*; (Both which are Struck at in the same Blow) is submitted humbly to Your Royal Wisdom. Not is the Faction less Industrious to draw an *Odium* upon Your *Majesties Person*, and to *Perplex*, *Seduce*, and *Exasperate* the *Multitude*,

 in

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in Matters of *Religion*, and concerning the *Government* of the *Church*.

There have been *Printed*, and *Reprinted*, since Your Majesties Happy *Restauration*, not so few as *a Hundred Schismatical Pamphlets*, against *Bishops*, *Ceremonies*, and *Common-Prayer*: in many of which, Your Majesty is *Directly*, and in *All* of them *Implicitly*, *Charg'd* with an Inclination to *Popery*. The *Instruments* that Menage This Part of the Plot, are *Ejected Ministers*, *Booksellers*, and *Printers*: and it is believed, by men of Judgment, and Experience, in the Trade of the *Press*, that since *the late Act for Uniformity*, there have been Printed near *Thirty Thousand Copies* of *Farewel-Sermons* (as they call them) in Defiance of the *Law*. *All which*, as they are now drawn together into one Binding, (to the Number of between Thirty and Forty) and represented with *Figures*, do certainly make up one of the most *Audacious*, and *Dangerous Libels*, that hath been made Publique under any Government; and they are now Printing it in *Dutch* too, for the greater Honour of the *Scandal*. By These *Arts*, and *Practices*, the *Faction* works upon the

the *Passions* and *Humours* of the *Common-People*; and when they shall have put *Mischief* into their *Hearts*, their *next Business* is to put *Swords* in their *Hands*, and to Engage them in a direct *Rebellion*: which *Intent* of theirs, together with the *Means* whereby they hope to *Execute* it, I shall humbly lay before Your Majesty in a few words.

That they *Propose*, and *Labour another Change*, appears, *First*; From the Recourse they have in almost all their *Schismatical Papers* to **the Obligation of the Covenant**; which is no other, than *to Conjure the People under the Peyn of* Perjury, *to Treat* Your Majesty, *as the* Covenanters *did Your* Father; and (in a flat Contradiction to the Blessed Apostle) to pronounce, that *Hee that* [OBEYES] *shall receive to himself Damnation*. A *Second Proof* of their *Designe* may be drawn from their still pleading **the Continuance of the Long-Parliament**; & **the Sovereignty of the People**; which is but in Plain Terms, *to Disclayme Your Authority-Royal*, and to *Declare* to the World, that *they want nothing but* Another Opportunity *for* Another Rebellion. What may be the *Event* of *These Li-*

bertyes,

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bertyes, belongs not to *Mee* to *divine*; but that *such Libertyes are taken*, I do, with great Reverence, presume to Enform Your Majesty: And further; that the *Visible Boldness*, and *Malice* of the *Faction*, seems not to be the *only Danger*; Diverse of the very *Instruments*, who are *Entrusted* with the *Care* of the Press, being both *Privy*, and *Tacitly Consenting* to the *Corruptions* of it; by virtue of which *Connivence*, many *Hundred-Thousands* of *Seditious Papers*, since your Majestyes Return, have passed *Unpunished*. And yet in This Prodigious *Licence*, and *Security* of *Libelling* Your Sacred *Majesty*, and the *Government*, let but any Paper be Printed that Touches upon the *Private Benefit* of some *Concerned Officer*; The *Author* of *That Paper* is sure to be *Retriv'd*, and *Handled* with sufficient *Severity*.

Finally; To present Your Majesty with some Common *Observations*: It is noted, *First*, as a very *Rare Thing*, for any *Presbyterian Pamphlet* to be *Seiz'd*, and *Suppressed*, unless by *Order* from *Above*. *Secondly*, It is observed of Those Offenders that are Discovered, that Generally the *Rich* have the Fortune to

to *Come off*, and the *Poor* to *Suffer*: and *Thirdly*; that *scarce One of five, though under Custody, is ever brought to either of Your Majesties Principal Secretaryes of State.*

I have now Discharg'd my Soul both to *God*, and to Your *Majesty*; in what I take to be an *Honest*, and a *Necessary Office*; and I have done it with *This Choice* before me, either to suffer the worst that *Malice*, or *Calumny* can cast upon me, or to Forfeit my *Duty*. I should not speak This but upon *Experience*, nor dare to mention it upon This Occasion, but that I think it highly Imports Your Majesty to know how *Dangerous* a Matter it is to Render you a *Publique Service*. To present Your Majesty with a Fresh Instance; I was lately Engaged as a *Commissioner*, in a *Publique Debate* on the behalf of the *Loyal Officers*; and for no other *Crime*, or *Provocation*, but *for Asserting the Profess'd Desires of the Whole Party*: A Certain Gentleman took such a *Heat*, and *Confidence*, as Openly *to Charge me with Writing against Your Majesty*; *Affirming* withal, *that Your Majesty had Accused me for it to the Parlia-*

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ment, and that my Lord Chancellor would Juſtifie it: Since which time, it appears, not only that *Hee Himſelf* was the *firſt Perſon* that by a *Private Tale* had *Endeavoured to Exaſperate my Lord Chancellor againſt Me*; but that being *called to Account by my Lords Order*, for ſo *Great*, and ſo *Injurious* a *Boldneſs*, both towards *Your Majeſty*, and his *Lordſhip*, **He deſired God to Renounce him, if ever he ſpake the Words**, (Although Delivered in the Face of *a Full Committee*.) If I were *Impudent* enough to trouble Your Majeſty with a *Perſonal Character*, *His Familiar Diſcourſes*, both concerning *your Sacred Majeſty*, and *the Honourable Houſe of Commons*, would afford matter for it; but let God witneſs for me, that I have *no Paſſion*, but for *your Majeſties Service*, and for the *General Good* of Your *Loyal Subjects*: *Both which Intereſts*, I do humbly conceive to be very much *concern'd* in ſome *Proviſion*, that men may not ſuffer in their *Reputations*, for doing their *Duties*; and that *Thoſe Perſons* who have *Chearfully*, and *Honourably* paſſed through the *utmoſt extremities*

tremities of a *Long* and *Barbarous Warr*, out of a ſence of *Loyalty* to Your *Royal Father*, may not now at laſt, be ſtung to Death by the *Tongues* of *Tale-Bearers*, and *Slanderers* for being *Faithful* to Your *Majeſty*. Which is the *Caſe* of *Many*, more Conſiderable then my Self, and among the *Reſt* in *Particular* of

Your Majesties

Moſt Loyall and Obedient Subject

Roger L'Eſtrange.

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To the Right Honourable the

LORDS

And, To the Honourable the

COMMONS

Assembled in Parliament.

HAving been lately Employ'd, to *Draw up* some *Proposals* touching *the Regulation of the Press*, and to *Search* for certain *Seditious Books*, and *Papers*: I think it Agreable both to my *Reason*, and *Duty*, that I *Dedicate* to your *Honours* some *Accompt* of my *Proceeding*; especially in This Juncture, when both the

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the *Danger*, and the *Remedy*, are the Subject of your *Preſent Care*. The *Drift*, and *Argument* of This Little Treatiſe, is Expreſs'd in the *Title*. One Particular only was forgotten in the *Body* of the Diſcourſe, which I muſt now Crave Leave to Inſert in my *Dedication*; (*i. e.*) *An Additional Expedient for the Relief of Neceſſitous, and Supernumerary Printers*; Many of which would be well enough Content to *Quit* the *Trade*, and Betake themſelves to *Other Employments*, upon Condition to be *Re-imburſt* for their *Preſſes, Letter*, and *Printing-Materials*: and it is Computed that 4000 *l.* or thereabouts, would Buy off their *Stock*; for the *Raiſing* of which Sum, and ſo to be *Employ'd*, there occurrs This *Expedient*.

It is Credibly Reported, That there have been Printed at leaſt *Ten*, or *Twelve Impreſſions* of a *Collection* Entituled, The *Firſt, Second*, and *Third Volume of Farewel-Sermons*: (with the Figures of the Ejected Miniſters) which is no *Other*, then an *Arraignment* of the *Law*, and a *Charge* of *Perſecution*, againſt the *King*, and his *Parliament*.

Upon a Suppoſition of *Twelve Impreſſions*, (at a Thouſand a piece, which is the Loweſt) the *clear Profit*, beſide the Charge of *Paper* and *Printing*, Comes to 3300 *l.* which Sum, being Impos'd as a Fine, upon *Their Heads* for whom the Books were *Printed*, will defray a *Conſiderable Part* of the aforeſaid *Charge*, and what is *wanting*, may be abundantly made up by the like Courſe upon the *Publiſhers* of *Other* Seditious Pamphlets, Keeping the Same Proportion betwixt the *Profit*, and the *Puniſhment*.

Of

Of the *Farewel-Sermons*, I Seiz'd the other day in *Quires*, to the Quantity of betwixt *Twenty* and *Thirty Ream* of Paper; and I Diſcovered likewiſe the Suppoſed Author of *Another Pamphlet*, Entituled [*A Short Survey of the Grand Caſe of the Miniſtry*, &c.] Wherein is *Maintain'd*, in oppoſition to the Declarations Required by the Act of *Uniformity*; That in ſome Caſes *It may be lawful to take* P. 21. *Arms againſt the King* — *To take Arms by the* P. 22. *Kings Authority, againſt his Perſon, or Thoſe Commiſſioned by Him* — And *that the Obligation of* P. 23. *the Covenant is a Knot cut by the Sword of Authority, whilſt it cannot be Looſed by Religious Reaſon.* Concerning which, and many other Deſperate Libels, if your Honours ſhall think fit to Deſcend into any Particular Enquiry, it may be made appear, that whereas not *One* of *Twenty* is *Now taken*, ſcarce *One* of a *Hundred* could *Scape*, if there were not *Connivence* (at leaſt; if not *Corruption*) joyn'd to the *Craft* and *Warineſs* of the *Faction*.

How the *World* will underſtand This *Freedome*, and *Confidence*, in a *Private Perſon*, I do not much Concern my Self; (provided that I offend not *Authority*) but the Queſtion to *Me* ſeems *ſhort*, and *eaſy*, *Whether it be Lawful, or not, for any Man that ſees his Country in Danger, to Cry out TREASON?* and *Nothing Elſe* hath Extorted This *Singularity* of *Practice*, and *Addreſs*, from

Your Honours
Moſt Dutiful Servant

Roger L'Eſtrange.

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Conſiderations and Propoſals

In Order to the

Regulation

OF THE

PRESS.

I Think no man denyes the *Neceſſity* of Suppreſſing *Licentious* and *Unlawful Pamphlets*, and of *Regulating* the *Preſs*; but in what *manner*, and by what *means* This may be Effected, That's the Queſtion. The Two Main-points are **Printing**, and **Publiſhing**.

The Inſtruments of ſetting the work afoot are Theſe. The *Adviſer*, *Author*, *Compiler*, *Writer*, *Corrector*, and the Perſons *for* whom, and *by* whom; that is ſay, the *Stationer* (commonly), and the *Printer*. To which may be Added, the *Letter-Founders*, and the *Smiths*, and *Joyners*, that work upon *Preſſes*. The Promoters,

The uſual *Agents* for **Publiſhing**, are the *Printers* themſelves, *Stitchers*, *Binders*, *Stationers*, *Hawkers*, *Mercury-women*, *Pedlers*, *Ballad-ſingers*, *Poſts*, *Carryers*, *Hackney-Coachmen*, *Boat-men*, and *Mariners*. Other Inſtruments may be likewiſe employ'd, againſt whom a General Proviſion will be ſufficient. **Hiding**, and **Concealing** of unlaw- and Publiſhers of Pamphlets.

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ful Books, is but in order to **Publiſhing**, and may be brought under the ſame Rule.

Touching the *Adviſer*, *Author*, *Compiler*, *Writer*, and *Corrector*, their Practices are hard to be Retriv'd, unleſs the One Diſcover the Other.

A General Expedient in Order to Diſcovery.

This Diſcovery may be procur'd partly by a *Penalty* upon *refuſing* to *Diſcover*, and partly by a *Reward*, to the *Diſcoverer*; but let both the *Penalty*, and the *Reward* be *Conſiderable*, and *Certain*: and let the *Obligation* of *Diſcovery* run quite Through, from the *firſt Mover* of the Miſchief, to the *Laſt Diſperſer* of it. That is to ſay; *If any unlawful Book ſhall be found in the Poſſeſſion of any of the* Agents, *or* Inſtruments *aforeſaid*, *let the* Perſon *in whoſe poſſeſſion it is* found, *be Reputed*, *and Puniſh'd as the* Author *of the ſaid Book*, *unleſs he* Produce *the Perſon*, *or Perſons*, *from whom he Receiv'd it*; *or elſe acquit himſelf* by Oath, *that he knows neither Directly*, *nor Indirectly*, *how it came into his Poſſeſſion*.

Concerning the Confederacy of *Stationers*, and *Printers*, we ſhall ſpeak anon: but the thing we are now upon, is, ſingly **Printing**, and what neceſſarily relates to it.

Multiplicity of Private Preſſes and Printers a great Evil.

One great Evil is the *Multiplicity of Private Preſſes*, and Conſequently of *Printers*, who for want of Publique, and warrantable employment, are forc'd either to play the Knaves in Corners, or to want Bread.

The Remedies are,

The *Remedy* is, to reduce all *Printers*, and *Preſſes*, that are now in Employment, to a *Limited Number*; and then to provide againſt Private Printing for the time to come, which may be done by the Means Following.

To Reduce, and Limit the Number,

First; The *number* of *Printers* and *Preſſes* being reſolv'd upon, let the Number of their *Journy-men*, and *Apprentices* be likewiſe *Limited*: and in like manner, the Number of *Maſter-Founders*, and of their *Journy-men*, and Their *Apprentices*; all which to be Allow'd of, and Approv'd by ſuch Perſon or Perſons, as ſhall be Authoris'd for that purpoſe; neither let any *Joyner*, *Carpenter*, or *Smith*, preſume to work for, or upon any *Printing Preſs*, without ſuch Allowance as aforeſaid, according to the Direction of the late Act for Printing.

Secondly,

And to diſcover the Supernumeraries;

Secondly, *Let all ſuch* Printers, Letter-Founders, Joyners, Carpenters, *and* Smiths, *as ſhall hereafter be* Allow'd, *as aforeſaid*, *be Reſpectively and ſeverally Interrogated before their Admittance*, *in order to the Diſcovery of* Supernumerary Printers *and* Preſſes. *That is*;

With the means of doing it.

1. *Let the* Printers *be Queſtion'd what* Private Preſſes *they have at any time wrought upon for ſo many years laſt paſt*, *and the time* When, *and* For, *and* with *Whom*: *and what* other Printers *and* Preſſes *they know of at Preſent*, *beſide Thoſe of the preſent Eſtabliſhment*.

2. *Let the* Founders *be alſo Examin'd*, *what* Letter *they have Furniſh'd* ſince ſuch a Time; When *and for* Whom; *and what* other Printers *&c.* ——— Ut Supra.

3. *Let the* Joyners, Carpenters, *and* Smiths *be Queſtion'd likewiſe what* Preſſes *they have* Erected, *or* Amended, *&c. When*, *and for* Whom? *and what* other Preſſes, Printers, *&c.* ——— *as before*.

And if after ſuch Examination it ſhall appear at any time within ſo many Months, *that any Man has wilfully* conceal'd, *or* Deny'd *the* Truth, *let him forfeit his Employment as a Perſon not fit to be Truſted*, *and let the Enformer be taken into his Place if he be capable of it*, *and deſire it*; *or Elſe*, *let him be Rewarded ſome other way. The ſame courſe may be taken alſo concerning* Engliſh Printers *and* Preſſes *beyond the Seas*.

This may ſerve as to the Diſcovery of *Private Printers* and *Preſſes already* in Employment: Now to prevent underhand-dealing for the *Future*, and to Provide againſt certain *other Abuſes* in ſuch as are *Allow'd*.

Let no Tradeſmen but Printers uſe Printing-Preſſes.

First; *Let a ſpecial care be taken of* Card-makers, Leather-Guilders, Flock-workers, *and* Quoyf-drawers; *either by expreſly inhibiting their uſe of ſuch Preſſes*, *as may be apply'd to* Printing *of* Books, *or by tying them up to the ſame Termes*, *and Conditions with* Printers; *and let no* other Tradeſman *whatſoever preſume to make uſe of a* Printing-preſs, *but upon the* ſame conditions, *and under the* ſame Penalties *with* Printers.

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Cautions for Securing and Regulating the Press.

2ly. *Let no* Presse *or* Printing-House *be* Erected *or* Lett, *and let no* Joyner, Carpenter, Smith, *or* Letter-Founder *work for a* Printing-House, *without* notice (*according to the late Act*)

3ly. *Let no* Materialls *belonging to* Printing, *no* Letters ready founded, *or* cast, *be* Imported *or* Bought *without the* like notice, *and for* whom (*according to the late Act.*)

4ly. *Let every* Master-Printer *be* Bound *at least, if not* sworn, *not to* Print, cause *or* suffer *to be* Printed *in his* House, *or* Press, *any Book or Books without* Lawful Licence (*according to the late Act.*)

5ly. *Let no* Master-Printer *be Allow'd to keep a* Press *but in his own* Dwelling-House, *and let no* Printing-House *be permitted with a* Back-dore *to it.*

6ly. *Let every* Master-Printer *certifie what* Warehouses *he Keeps, and not Change them without giving Notice.*

7ly. *Let every* Master-Printer *set his Name to whatsoever he* Prints, *or* causes *to be* Printed (*according to the late Act.*)

8ly. *Let no* Printer *presume to put upon any Book, the* Title, Marque, *or* Vinnet *of any other Person who has the Priviledge of Sole Printing the same, without the Consent of the Person so Privileg'd (according to the late Act) and let no man presume to Print another mans Copy.*

9ly. *Let no* Printer *presume either to* Re-Print, *or Change the* Title *of any Book formerly Printed, without* Licence; *or to* Counterfeit a Licence, *or knowingly to put any mans Name to a Book as the* Author *of it, that was* not *so.*

10ly. *Let it be Penall to* Antedate *any Book; for by so doing, New Books will be shuffled among Old Ones to the Encrease of the Stock.*

11ly. *Let the* Price *of Books be Regulated.*

12ly. *Let no* Journy-man *be Employ'd, without a* Certificate *from the Master where he wrought last.*

13ly. *Let no* Master *discharge a* Journy-man, *nor* Hee *Leave his* Master, *under* 14 *dayes Notice, unlesse by Consent.*

14ly.

14ly. *Let the Persons employ'd, be of* Known Integrity, *so near as may be*; Free *of the sayd* Mysteries, *and* Able *in their* Trades (*according to the late Act.*)

Obj. *But if* 60 *Presses must be reduc'd to* 20, *what shall all those People do for a Livelyhood that wrought at the other* 40?

Anſ. It is provided by the Late Act, that as many of them shall be employ'd as the Printers can find *Honest work* for, and a sufferance of more, is but a *Toleration* of the Rest to Print *Sedition*, so that the *Supernumeraryes* are in as ill a Condition *now*, as they will be *Then*; and yet something may be thought upon for their Relief.

A Provision for Poor Printers. *There have been divers Treasonous and Seditious Pamphlets printed since the Act of Indemnity; as*, The Speeches of the Late King's Judges; Sir Henry Vane's [*Pretended*] Tryal; The Prodigies 1 *Part and* 2. *and the Like. Let any of These Necessitous Persons, make known at whose Request, and for whose Behoofe These, or the Like Seditious Libells have been Printed, and they shall not only be Pardon'd for having had a hand in it Themselves, but the first Enformer shall upon Proof or Confession be Recommended to the first Vacancy whereof he is Capable in the New-Regulation, and the Next to the Second, and so successively: And moreover a Fine shall be set upon the Heads of the Delinquents, to be Employ'd toward the Maintenance of so many of the Indigent Printers as shall be Interpreted to Merit that Regard, by such Discovery.*

Publishers and Dispersers about the Town to be Punish'd. Next to **Printing**, follows **Publishing** or **Dispersing**, which, in and about the Town, is commonly the work of *Printers, Stitchers, Binders, Stationers, Mercury-women, Hawkers, Pedlars*, and *Ballad Singers*.

Concerning Printers, Stitchers, *and* Binders; *The* Penalty *may be* Double, *where the* Fault *is so: That is*; *where the* same Person (*for Example*) *is found to be both* Printer *and* Disperser *of the* same unlawful Books, *he may be Punished in* Both Capacities: *of the Rest* (*the* Stationer *excepted*) *little needs be said but that they may be* Punishable, *and the* Penalty *Suited to the Quality of the* Offender.

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The Stationers have their Private Ware-houses, and Receivers.

The most Dangerous People of all are the *Confederate Stationers*, and the breaking of That Knot would do the work alone. For the *Closer* Carriage of their business they have here in the Town, Their **Private Ware-Houses, and Receivers.**

Let every Stationer certifie, *what* Ware-Houses *he keeps, and not change them without giving notice.*

Receivers and Concealers to be Punish'd as Dispersers.

Let the Receivers *and* Concealers *of Unlawful, or Unlicens'd Books be Punish'd as the* Dispersers *of them, unless within* 12 *houres after such Receipt they give notice to*—— *that they have such Quantityes of Books in their Custody, and to whom they belong.*

The Stationers Agents for Dispersing their Books Abroad.

They hold Intelligence *Abroad* by the means of *Posts, Carryers, Hackny-Coachmen, Boatmen,* and *Marriners:* and for fear of *Interceptions* they Correspond by *False Names*, and *Private Tokens*; so that if a *Letter*, or *Pacquet* miscarry, people may not know what to make on't. As for the Purpose; so many *Dozen* of *Gloves* stands for so many *Dozen* of *Books*. Such a *Marque* for such a *Price*, &c.

Their wayes of Privy Correspondence and Concealment.

They enter in their *Day-Books*, only in General terms, such and such *Parcells of Books*, without naming *Particulars.*

The means of Prevention & Discovery.

1. *Let every* Stationer, *living in or about* London, *be oblig'd to keep a* Day-Book *of the* Particulars *of all the* Unlicens'd Books, *and* Papers, *which he sends, causes or allowes to be sent, by any of the Messengers above-mentioned, into any parts of his Majesties Dominions; and let him Enter the* Names *likewise of the* Persons *to whom he sends them, under a* Penalty; *if either he be prov'd, to have kept a* False Book, *or to have* Corresponded *under a* False Name, *and let every* Stationer *elsewhere* (i. e. *within the Kingdom of* England, *and Dominion of* Wales) *be oblig'd to keep a* Day-Book *likewise, of what* Unlicens'd Books, *and* Papers, *he* Receives, *and from* whom, *upon the like Penalty.*

2. *Let no* Stationer *presume to send, cause or allow to be sent, either* by Land, *or* Water, *any* Dry-Fatts, Bales, Packs, Maunds, *or other* Fardells, *or* Packquets *of* Printed Books, *or* Papers, *without* superscribing *them in such sort, that they may*

may be known to be Books, *together with the* Names *of the Persons* from *whom they are* sent, *and* to *whom they are* Directed: *Under peyn of* Forfeiting *all Parcels of Books that are not so* superscrib'd, *or otherwise that are advertis'd under* False Names.

3. *Let every* Hackny-Coach-man, Carrier, Boatman, *or* Mariner, *that knowingly Transgresses in the* Private Conveighance *of such Letters or Packquets as aforesaid, be subjected to a Particular Penalty.*

Concerning Books Imported. *They must be* First Prepar'd beyond the Seas, Secondly, conveighed hither; *and* Thirdly, Received *and* Distributed here.

An Expedient against Printing of English Books beyond the Seas;

Let the English Printer, Vender, *or* Utterer *of any Books written in the* English Tongue, *or by an* English man, *in any* other Tongue *and Printed beyond the Seas, to the dishonour of his Majestie or of the Establish'd Government, be required to appear from beyond the Seas, by a Certain Day, and under such a Penalty; which if he Refuse, or wilfully fayl to do, Let it be made Penall for any Person Living within his Majestys Dominions, (after sufficient Notice of his such Contempt) to hold any further Correspondence with him, Either by Message, Letter, or otherwise, till he hath given satisfaction for his Offence.*

and Importing and Disposing of them.

Let a General Penalty be layd upon the Importers *of any* English Books, *whatsoever*, Printed beyond the Seas. *And so likewise upon the* Contracters, *for; the* Receivers, Concealers, *and* Dispersers *of, any Books whatsoever, Imported into This Realm, and Disposed of without due Authority. It rests now to be Consider'd. First* What Books are to be suppresst, *and* Secondly, Into what hands the Care of the Press is to be Committed.

The Books to be suppresst are as follows.

First,

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What Books, Libels, and Positions are to be suppressed, and

First, All Printed Papers pressing *the Murther of the late King.*

Secondly, All Printed *Justifications* of that Execrable Act.

Thirdly, All Treatises Denying *His Majesties Title* to the *Crown* of *England.*

Fourthly, All Libels against the *Person* of His Sacred Majesty, His Blessed *Father*, or the *Royal Family.*

Fifthly, All Discourses manifestly tending to stirr up the People against the *Establish'd Governm*[redacted]

Sixthly, All Positions Terminating in This Treasonous Conclusion, that, His *Majesty* may be *Arraign'd, Judg'd,* and *Executed*, by his *People*: such as are These Following.

Coordination, The *Sovereignty* of the *Two Houses*, or of the *House* of *Commons*; or of the *Diffusive Body* of the *People*, in Case of Necessity. The *Justification* of the *Warr* Rais'd in 1642. in the Name of *King* and *Parliament.* The *Defence* of the *Legality* and *Obligation* of the *Covenant.* The *Separation* of the *Kings Person* from His *Authority.* The *Denyal* of His Majesties *Power* in *Ecclesiastical Affairs.* The Mainteyning that the *Long-Parliament* is not yet *Dissolv'd.*

If it be objected that This Looks too farr Back; It may be Answer'd that *Persons* are Pardon'd, but not *Books.* But to more Particular Reasons for the Suppressing of *Old Pamphlets.*

Reasons for the suppressing of old Pamphlets as well as new.

First; *It is (with Reverence) a Duty both from his Sacred Majesty and his Parliament, to the* Honour, *and* Memory *of the* Late King, *to deliver the Reputation of That* Blessed Martyr, *from the Diabolical Calumnies, and Forgeries, which are yet Extant against his* Person, *and* Government.

Secondly,

Secondly, *It is as much a Duty toward our* Present Sovereign, *of whose Royal* Family, *and* Person, *as much Ill is said, and Publish'd, as is possible for the Wit of Man to Utter, or for the Malice of Hell to Invent.*

Thirdly, *In Relation to* Political Ends, *and to the Security of the* Publique, *they ought to be Suppress: for they do not only Revile, and Slander his Majesties Royal Person, but many of them Disclaim his very* Title *to the* Crown; *and Others Subject his* Prerogative, *and Consequently his Sacred* Life *to the Sovereign Power of the* People; *and this is done too, with all the Advantages of a Pestilent and Artificial Imposture. Now why a* Pamphlet *should be Allow'd to Proclaim This Treason to the World, which but whispered in a Corner would certainly bring a* Man *to the Gallows, is not easily Comprehended.*

Fourthly, *It makes the* English Nation *cheap in the Eyes of the World, to find the* Bloud *and* Virtues *of the* Late King, *appear so little to be consider'd, beside the Hazardous Consequence of* Blasting *the* Royal Cause, *and of* Discouraging Loyalty *to Future Generations, by transmitting the whole Party of the* Royallists, *in so many Millions of virulent Libels, to Posterity, for a prostitute Rabble of* Villeins, *and* Traytours.

Fifthly, *Those Desperate Libells and Discourses do not only* Defame *the* Government, Encourage *and* Enrich *the* Faction, *and* Poyson *the* People; *but, while They are Permitted, Those* Stationers *and* Printers, *that would otherwise be* Honest, *are forced either to play the* Knaves *for Company, or to* Break: *for there's scarce any other Trading for them, but in That Trash. Their Customers will be Supply'd, and if they ask for any of these Treasonous Books, they must either Furnish them, or Lose their Custom.*

Sixthly, *The same Reason that prohibits* New Pamphlets, *requires also the Suppressing of* Old ones, *(of the same Quality) for 'tis not the* Date, *that does the* Mischief, *but the* Matter, *and the* Number. *If they be*

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Plausible, *and* Cunning *enough to* Deceive, *and then* Numerous *enough to* Spread, Buchanan, *and* Knox *will do the business as sure as* Baxter, *and* Calamy. *Besides that in some Respects, the* Old Ones *have a great Advantage of the* New: *for being Written in times of* Freedom, *and Menag'd by great* Masters *of the Popular Stile, they speak* playner, *and strike* homer *to the* Capacity *and* Humour *of the* Multitude; *whereas they that write in the fear of a* Law, *are forc'd to cover their Meaning under* Ambiguities, *and* Hints, *to the greater Hazzard of the* Libeller, *than of the* Publique.

Seventhly, *They must be suppress't, in Order to a Future Regulation: for otherwise 'tis but* Antedating New Books, *and making them pass for* Old ones (*which may be done with very little Hazzard of Detection*) *or else, as any Saleable Book grows scarse; tis but* Reprinting *it with a* false Date, *and by these* Additions, *and* Recruits, *a Stock of* Seditious Pamphlets *shall be kept in Motion, to the end of the world. In Fine, if they are not fit to be* Sold, *they are not fit to be* kept; *for a verbal Prohibition without an Actual Seizure will be rather an Advantage to the Private Trade, then a Hindrance; and bring Profit to the Factious Book-sellers and Printers, that have Copies ly upon their hands, by Enhansing the Prices.*

Having already set forth the Quality of those Pamphlets that ought to be suppress'd, together with the Necessity of Suppressing Old as well as New; It will now follow properly, that I give some Instances of both sorts upon the foregoing Subjects.

Instances

Instances of Treasonous and Seditious Pamphlets.

I. Against the Life of the Late King.

The Armies Remonstrance from St. Albans, Nov. 16. 1648.

We Propound that That Capital and Grand Author of our Troubles, the Person of the King, may be speedily brought to Justice, for the Treason, Bloud, and Mischief He is Guilty of. P. 62.

God's Delight in the Progress of the Upright. Printed for *Thomas Brewster*, 1649.

Have ye not sins enough of your own, but will ye wrap your selves up, in the Treachery, Murder, Bloud, Cruelty and Tyranny of others? P. 17. Set some of those Grand Malefactors a Mourning, (that have Caus'd the Kingdom to Mourn so many years in Garments Roll'd in Bloud) by the Execution of Justice, &c. P. 19. Delivered in a Sermon by *Thomas Brooks* before the Commons, Dec. 26. 1648.

II. In Justification of Putting His Late Majesty to Death.

The Speeches and Prayers of some of the Late King's Judges. Printed 1660 Divers Impressions.

That men may see what it is to have an Interest in Christ in a Dying hour, and to be Faithful to his Cause. The Publisher to the Reader.

I look upon it [the Murther of the King] as the most Noble and high Act of Justice that our Story can Parallel. P. 41. In a Personated Letter from *Cook* to a Friend.

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Mercurius Politicus.

Printed by a Person now in Office and eminent employment, 1651.

That Heroick and most Noble Act of Justice, in Judging and Executing the Late King — An Act Agreeing with the Law of God, Consonant to the Laws of Men, and the Practices of all well order'd States and Kingdomes. *P.* 784.

Charles the First was Executed a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and a Publique Enemy to the Nation. *P.* 1032.

III. Against the Title of the Royal Family to the Crown of *England.*

Mercurius Politicus.

P. 982. Playing the second Part of *Perkin Warbeck*, who once Invaded the North after the same manner, with a Crew of *Scots* at his Heels, and had every Jot as good a Title as Himself, or as his Predecessor *Henry* the 7th.

P. 832. We had a sufficient Reason to lay aside this Bastard Race of Usurpers and Pretenders, if it were for no other Cause, but the Meer Injustice and vanity of their Title.

P. 833. We have cause to Cut off this Accursed Line of Tyranny, Bloud, and Usurpation.

Printed by Mr. *Baxters* Printer for *Fran. Tyton.* 1651. one of his Majesties Servants, if he has not lately put off his place.

The False Brother.

The Parliament having wisely Chang'd the Government to a Common-wealth, and Cut off that hereditary Usurpation of Monarchy, which was never either justly Begun, or Continued. *P.* 34.

a *The Rise, Reign, and Ruine of the House of* Stuarts.

b *The true Pourtraiture of the Kings of* England.

a A Foul and Treasonous piece, printed for *Giles Calvert*, 1652.
b Printed by Mr. *Baxt.* Printer for *Francis Tyton*, 1650.

It is high time now to End that Line that was never either well Begun, or Directly Continued. P. 42.

A Short Reply, &c. *together with a Vindication of the Declaration of the Army of* England.

Printed by one in Office and great Employment, for *Fran. Tyton*, Aug. 16. 1650.

Touching the Right of This King's Inheritance, We affirm it not only to be none Originally, without the Consent of the Nation; but also, to be justly Forfeited, by his Own, and Father's Destructive Engagements against the Common-wealth; and therefore We know not of any Duty, we Owe him, more than to any other engaged Enemy of the Land. P. 24.

IV. Treasonous, Malicious, and Scandalous Libels against the Person of his most Sacred Majesty and the Royal Family.

Plain English.

Printed for *Livewell Chapman*, 1660.

What hope that the Reformed Religion will be protected and Maintained, by the Son, which was so Irreligiously betray'd by the Father? P. 2.

A Door of Hope.

1660. Since his Majesties Return.

C. *S.* the Son of That Murtherer, is Proclaimed King of *England*, Whose Throne of Iniquity is built on the Bloud of Precious Saints and Martyrs. P. 1.

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Printed by *Peter Cole*, 1648. The Author *Cook* the Regicide.

The Case of King Charles.

The Murtherers of our Saviour were less Guilty than that Prince.

Printed by a person in Office and credit, for *Fran. Tyton*, 1650.

An English *Translation of the* Scottish *Declaration.*

Let Justice and Reason blush, and Traytors and Murtherers, Parricides, and Patricides, put on white Garments, and Rejoyce as Innocent ones, if This Man [the late King] should escape the hands of Justice and Punishment. P. 22.

An Implacable and Gangren'd Person. P. 13.

A Butcher rather than a Prince of Bowels and Affection. P. 19.

[Charles the 2d] the Son of a Bloody Father, Heir to an Entayl'd Curse, more certain than to his Kingdom, Train'd up in Bloud, and one that never suck'd in any other Principles but Prerogative and Tyranny. P. 23.

The None-such Charles.

[Charles the First] rather chose to submit to the Justice of an Axe in a Hang-mans hand, than to sway a Scepter with Equity. P. 167.

This Age knows what such a Tyrant was, in not feeling his force any more upon their Throats. P. 169.

Printed 1654. by a person in Offices of great Trust and Benefit.

A True State of the Case of the Common-Wealth.

That Accursed Interest; ——— a Family that God has cast out before us; ——— that has worn the marques and badges of Gods high displeasure for almost these Hundred years, P. 47. The Person of the young Pretender, is a son of Bloud, &c. P. 48.

Mercurius

Mercurius Britanicus.

If any man can bring any tale or tiding of a wilfull King, which hath gone astray these four years from his Parliament, with a Guilty Conscience, Bloudy Hands, a Heart full of broken Vowes and Protestations, &c. P. 825. Printed by Mr. *Baxters* Printer. 1645.

V. Pamphlets tending manifestly to stir up the People against his Sacred Majesty, and the Establish'd Government.

God's Loud Call.

Oh! Worm! Darest thou be so impudent to put thy self in Gods stead, to meddle with mens Consciences, and Lord it in Religious Concerns? Printed by *Simon Dover*, 1661. P. 17.

Smectymnuus Redivivus.

The Plastring or Palliating of these Rotten Members [*Bishops*] will be a greater Dishonour to the Nation and Church, than their Cutting off, and the Personal Acts of These Sons of *Belial*, being Conniv'd at, become National Sins. Printed for *J. Rothwell*, 1660. Publish'd by Mr. *Thomas Manton*, since his Majesties Return. P. 58.

The Root of these Disorders, (*viz.*) Popery, Superstition, Arminianism, and Prophaneness) proceedeth from the Bishops, and their Adherents [whereof the *King* is One.] P. 66.

A Sermon Preached at Aldermanbury-*Church*, Dec. 28. 1662.

The tongue of Man is not able to express the Misery of that Nation, where the Ark of God is Taken [P. 8.]: and the Deliver'd by Mr. *Edmund Calamy*.

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the Ark of God is in This Instant in Danger of being Lost, [*P.* 11.] We have lost our first Love to the Gospel, and to the Ordinances, [*ibid.*] Abundance of Priests and Jesuits are in the midst of us, and Popery preach'd amongst us. But where are our old *Eli's* now? our *Moses's*? our *Elijahs*? our *Uriahs*?

P. 13.

Printed by *Jo. Hayes*, 1662. The Author *Edw. Bagshaw*. *P.* 8.

Animadversions upon the Bishop of Worcesters *Letter.*

We may lawfully refuse to submit unto such Impositions as God hath no where commanded.

1661. Begun by *Tho. Creek* for *Giles Calvert* and *Tho. Brewster*, and finish'd by the Order of *Calverts* wife, whilest her husband was a Prisoner for that very book. To the Reader.

The Teare of Prodigies.

Amongst the Hellish rout of Prophane and ungodly men, let especially the Oppressors and Persecutors of the True Church look to themselves, when the hand of the Lord, in strange Signs and Wonders is lifted up among them; for ------ The final overthrow of *Pharaoh* and the *Ægyptians* (those cruel Task-masters and Oppressors of the *Israelites*) did bear date not long after the Wonderfull and Prodigious Signs which the Lord had shewn in the midst of them.

Printed for *Tho. Parkhurst*, 1662. Preached by *Thomas Watson*, calculated for *Corbet* and *Barkstead*, and Dated upon the very day whereon they were Executed, *Apr.* 19. 1662. *P.* 39.

A Word of Comfort.

The Church of God appears in his Cause, and loseth Bloud in his Quarrel. [*P.* 8.]

Is not God upon the Threshold of his Temple, ready to fly? Are not the shadowes of the Evening stretched out? and may we not fear the Sun-setting of the Gospel? *P.* 30.

The Lord may let his Church be a while under Hatches, to punish her Security, and to awaken her out of her slumbering fits; yet surely the storm will not continue long.

A Dis-

A Dispute against the English-Popish Ceremonies.

This Book was formerly condemned to be burnt by the Common Hangman, and Reprinted since his Majesties Return.

Be not deceiv'd to think that they who so eagerly press this Course of Conformity, have any such end as Gods Glory, or the Good of his Church, and Profit of Religion. *P.* 9.

Let not the Pretence of Peace, and Unity, cool your fervour, or make you spare to oppose your selves, unto those Idle and Idolized Ceremonies, against which we dispute. *P.* 11.

Instances of Pamphlets containing Treasonous and Seditious POSITIONS.

VI. The Three Estates are Co-ordinate, and the King one of the Three Estates.

Baxters Holy Common-Wealth.

Printed for *Francis Tyton*, 1659.

The Soveraignty here among us is in King, Lords, and Commons. *P.* 72.

Parliament-Physick for a Sin-sick Nation.

The Government of England is a Mixt Monarchy, and Govern'd by the Major part of the Three Estates Assembled in Parliament. P. 111.

Ahabs Fall, with a Post-script to Dr. Fern.

The Houses are not only Requisite to the Acting of the Power of making Lawes, but Co-ordinate with his Majestie in the very Power of Acting. P. 42.

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VII. The Soveraignty is in the Two Houses, in Case of Necessity.

1662. *The Peoples Cause stated, in the [Pretended] Tryal of Sir* Henry Vane.

P. 112. The Delegates of the People in the House of Commons, and the Commissioners on the Kings Behalf in the House of Peers, concurring; do very far bind the King, if not

P. 113. wholly.---And when These cannot Agree, but break one from another, the Commons in Parliament Assembled, are, *ex Officio*, the Keepers of the Libertys of the Nation, and Righteous Possessors, and Defenders of it against all Usurpers and Usurpations whatsoever.

Observations upon his Majesties Answers, &c.

P. 45. Parliaments may Judg of Publique Necessity without the King (if Deserted by the King) and are to be accompted, by Virtue of Representation, as the whole Body of the State.

Right and Might well met.

P. 7. An. 1648. Whensoever a King or other Superiour Authority creates an Inferiour, they Invest it with a Legitimacy of Magistratical Power to punish Themselves also, in Case they prove Evill-Doers.

VIII. The

VIII. The Power of the King is but Fiduciary; and the Duty of the Subjects but Conditional.

Jus Populi.

Princes Derive their Power and Prerogative from the People, and have their Investitures meerly for the Peoples Benefit. P. 1. An. 1644.

Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos.

If the Prince fail in his Promise, the People are Exempt from their Obedience, the Contract is made Voyd, and the Right of Obligation is of no Force---It is therefore permitted to the Officers of a Kingdome, either All or some good Number of them, to suppress a Tyrant. P. 120. An. 1648. P. 121.

The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates --- 1649.

---Proving that it is Lawful for any who have the Power, to call to Account a Tyrant, or wicked King, and after due Conviction to depose, and put him to Death, if the ordinary Magistrate have Neglected, or Deny'd to doe it. The Title.

IX. The King is *Singulis Major, Universis Minor.*

I.

A Declaration of the Lords and Commons touching the Four Bills. March 13. 1647.

It is the Kings Duty to pass all such Lawes, as Both

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Houses shall Judg good for the Kingdom: Upon a supposition, that they are good, which by them are Judg'd such.

De Monarchiâ Absolutâ.

The Author *Edward Bagshaw*, 1659.

Detrahere Indigno Magistratum etsi Privati non debeant; Populus tamen Universus quin possit, nemo, opinor, dubitabit. *P.* 9.

Thorps Charge to the Grand-Jury at York, March 20. 1648.

Kings are Accountable to the People, I do not mean to the Diffused humours and fancyes of particular men in their single and natural Capacities; but to the People in their Politique Constitution, lawfully Assembled by their Representative. *P.* 3. 1649.

X. The Kings Person may be Resisted but not His Authority.

Lex Rex.

Printed by a Person in Office and Employment. *Octob.* 7. 1644.

He that Resisteth the King, commanding in the Lord, Resisteth the Ordinance of God. But he who Resisteth the King, Commanding that which is against God, Resisteth no Ordinance of God; but an Ordinance of Sin and Sathan. *P.* 267.

XI. The King has no Power to Impose in Ecclesiastical Affairs.

The Great Question. 1660.

The Author *Edw. Bagshaw.* P. 2.

I hold it utterly Unlawful for any Christian Magistrate to Impose the Use of Surplices in Preaching, Kneeling at the Sacrament, Set-Forms of Prayer, *&c.*

When once Humane Inventions become Impositions, and lay a Necessity upon that which God hath left Free; then may we lawfully Reject them, as Plants of Mans setting, and not of Gods owning. P. 5.

XII. The Parliament of *November* 3d. 1640. is not yet Dissolv'd.

The Peoples Cause Stated in the [*Pretended*] *Tryall of Sir* Henry Vane. 1662.

How and when the Dissolution of the Long-Parliament (according to Law) hath been made, is yet Unascertain'd, and not particularly Declar'd: by reason whereof, (and by what hath been before shew'd) the state of the Case on the Subjects part, is much altered, as to the Matter of Right, and the Usurpation is now on the other hand. P. 112.

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XIII. The Warre Raisd in 1642. in the Name of King and Parliament was Lawful.

Printed for *Francis Tyton*, 1659.

Baxters Holy Common-Wealth.

P. 486.

I cannot see that I was mistaken in the main Cause, nor dare I repent of it, nor forbear the same, if it were to do again in the same State of things ——And my Judgment tells me, that if I should do otherwise, I should be Guilty of Treason or Disloyalty against the Soveraign Power of the Land, and of Perfidiousness to the Common-Wealth.

1660. Since his Majestics Return.

The Form and Order of the Coronation of Charles *the Second.*

Preached by *Robert Dowglass*, at *Scoon*, *Jan.* 1. 1651.

Pag. 10.

A King abusing his Power to the overthrow of Religion Lawes and Liberties----may be Controll'd and Oppos'd. This may serve to Justifie the Proceedings of this Kingdome against the Late King, who in an Hostile way set himself to overthrow Religion, Parliaments, Lawes, and Liberties.

XIV. The Covenant is Binding.

Printed by *Tho. Creek* for *Giles Calvert*, *Tho. Brewster* and *Livewel Chapman*, since his Majestics Return.

A Phœnix: or, the Solemn League and Covenant.

The breaking of our National Covenant is a Sin in Folio, a Sin of a high Nature---a greater sin, then a sin against a Commandement, or against an Ordinance, a sin not only of Disobedience, but of Perjury, a sin of Injustice

sins, a spiritual Adultery, a sin of Sacrilege, a sin of great unkindness. P. 138. A Sermon of Mr. *Calamys.*

Two Papers of Proposals.

1661. from the Presbyterian Ministers.

The Covenant does undoubtedly Bind us to forbear our own Consent to those Luxuriances of Church-Government which we there Renounced, and for which no Divine Institution can be pretended. P. 13.

A Short Survey of the Grand Case, &c.

1663. Printed by *Henry Bridges.*

Some say, the Terms are Dubious, if not false, it being indefinitely asserted, **It is not lawful to take Arms against the King on any Pretence whatsoever,** ----Although *Our King is*, and *WE HOPE, EVER WILL BE*, so qualified, that in reference to *Him*, it *MAY* be true; yet it is not *Impossible* for a King *Regis Personam exuere*, in a *Natural*, or *MORAL Madness*, or Phrensie, to turn Tyrant, yea Beast, Waiving his Royal Place, violently, extrajudicially, extramagisterially to assault his Subject, as *Saul* did *David*: In this Case, men think Nature doth Dictate it, and Scripture doth justifie a Man, *se defendendo vim vi repellere*, to take Arms, though by rallying the Men of *Belial*, not to *Resist*, yet to *Restreyn*, the King, and those who are Commissioned by him, until they make good their Retreat, and more safely run out of his reach. P. 21. A Treasonous Position. As the *Presbyterians restreyn'd* the Late King.

To some it soundeth harsh to declare it a **Trayterous Position to take Arms by the Kings Authority, against the Kings Person, or those Commissioned by him**——for if some Ruffians should (which God defend) seize the Person of a King, he is a *Man*, from whom Commissions may be by fear extorted, whereby true Loyalty must be on their side, and Treason on the part of the Kings Council, Kindred, and Ministers of State, if Arming against his *Person*, by his *Authority* though on such a Pretence. P. 22.

The

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P. 23. The Convincing Demonstration that **there lyes no Obligation on me, nor any other Person, from the Oath commonly called the Solemn League and Covenant,** is a Knot cut by the Sword of Authority, whilst it cannot be loosed by Religious Reason.

P. 47. We are Expectants of God's avengement of the Covenant now it hath been taken, ------ *We do not, cannot, will not Declare,* **the Covenant doth not oblige me or any other person to endeabour** *our* **alteration of the Government in the Church.**

I could add *More*, and *Worse* to the *Instances* already given, but these shall suffice for a Taste. The Question is now, By whom, *the Government and Oversight of the Press is to be undertaken*, and the *Contest* lyes at present betwixt the *Booksellers* and *Printers*, which although Concorporate by an Ancient Grant, are in this point become Competitors; and since they have divided Themselves, they shall be here likewise distinctly considered.

The Stationers *are not to be entrusted with the care of the Press, for These following Reasons.*

Reasons why the Stationers are not to be Entrusted with the Care of the Press.

First, They are both *Parties* and *Judges*; for diverse of them have brought up Servants to the Mystery of Printing which they still retein in Dependence: Others again are both *Printers* and *Stationers*, *Themselves*; so that they are Entrusted (effectually) to *search* for their *own Copies*; to *Destroy* their *own Interests*; to *Prosecute* their *own Agents*, and to *Punish Themselves*: for they are the Principal *Authors* of those Mischiefs which they pretend now to *Redress*, and the very *Persons* against whom the *Penalties* of this Intended Regulation are chiefly *Levell'd*.

2ly. It is not Adviseable to Rely upon the *Honesty* of People (if it may be Avoided) where That *Honesty* is to their *Loss*: Especially if they be such as have already given Proof that they prefer their *Private Gayn* before the *Well-*

Well-fare of the *Publique*: Which has been the Stationer's case throughout our Late Troubles, some few Excepted, whose Integrity deserves Encouragement.

3ly. In this Trust, they have not only the *Temptation* of *Profit*, to divert them from their Duty (a fair part of their stock lying in Seditious Ware) but the *Means* of *Transgressing* with great *Privacy*, and *Safety*: for, make *Them Overseers* of the *Press*, and the *Printers* become totally at *their Devotion*; so that the whole Trade passes through the fingers of their own Creatures, which, upon the matter, concludes rather in a *Combination*, then a *Remedy*.

4ly. It seems a little too much to *Reward* the *Abusers* of the Press with the *Credit* of *Superintending* it: upon a Confidence that They that *Destroy'd* the *Last King* for their *Benefit*, will now make it their business to *Preserve This* to their *Loss*.

5ly. It will cause a great *Disappointment* of *Searches*, when the Persons most concern'd shall have it in their Power to spoyl all, by *Notices*, *Partiality*, or *Delay*.

6ly. As the *Effectual Regulation* of the *Press* is not at all the *Stationers Interest*, so is it strongly to be suspected that it is as little their *Aym*: for *not One Person has been Fin'd, and but one Prosecuted*, (as is credibly Affirm'd) *since the Late Act*, notwithstanding so much Treason and Sedition Printed and dispersit since That time.

7ly. It is enjoyn'd by the Late Act that **no Man shall be Admitted to be a Master-Printer, untill They who were at that time Actually Master-Printers, shall be by Death or otherwise reduc'd to the Number of Twenty:** which Provision notwithstanding, Several Persons have since that time been suffer'd to set up *Masters*; which gives to understand that the reducing of the Presses to a *Limited Number* is not altogether the *Stationers Purpose*.

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The Printers *are not to be Entrusted with the Government of the Press.*

Nor the Printers,

First, All the Arguments already Objected against the *Stationers* hold good also against the *Printers*, but not fully so strong. That is, they are both *Partyes*, and *Judges*. *Self-ended*, (upon Experiment) under the *Temptation* of *Profit*. *Offenders* as well as the *Stationers*; and in all *Abuses* of the *Presse*, *confederate* with them. Beside, They will have the same Influence upon *Searches*; and they have probably as little *Stomack* to a *Regulation*, as the other. 'Tis true; the *Printers Interest* is not so *Great* as the *Stationers*; for where *Hee* gets (it may be) 20 or 25 in the 100 for *Printing* an Unlawful Book, the *Other Doubles*, nay many times, *Trebles* his Mony by *selling* it: Yet nevertheless the Printer's Benefit lyes at stake too.

2dly. It were a hard matter to Pick out *Twenty Master-Printers*, who are both *Free of the Trade*, of *Ability* to *Menage* it, and of *Integrity* to be *Entrusted* with it: Most of the *Honester* sort being *impoverished* by the *Late Times*, & the great business of the Press being Engross'd by *Oliver's Creatures*.

although Incorporated;

But, They Propose to Undertake the Work upon Condition to be *Incorporate*. That is; *to be Disengaged from the Company of Stationers, and to be made a Society by Themselves*. It may be Answered that it would be with *Them*, as 'tis with *Other Incorporate Societies*: They would be True to the *Publique*, so far as stands with the *Particular Good* of the *Company*. But Evidently *Their Gain* lyes the *other* way: and for a State to Erect a *Corporation* that shall bring so great a *Danger* upon the *Publique*, and not one *Peny* into the *Treasury*, to Ballance the Hazzard, were a Proceeding not ordinary.

or giving Security.

But *they Offer to give Security*, and *to be Lyable to Fines*. Let That be done, Whether they be *Incorporate*, or *no*. *In case of Failer, they'll be content to lose their Priviledges*. What signifies That, but only a Stronger Obligation to a Closer

Closer Confederacy? 'Tis True, The Printers in a Distinct and Regulated Society may do some good as to the General Business of Printing, and within the Sphere of that *Particular Profession*: but the *Question* is *Here*, how to *Prevent* a *Publique Mischief*, not how to *Promote* a *Private Trade*. But *are not Printers the fittest Instruments in Searches*? They are, without Dispute, *Necessary Assistants*, either for *Retriving Conceal'd Pamphlets*, or for *Examination* of work in the *Mettle*, but whether it be either for the *Honour*, or *Safety*, of the *Publique*, to Place so great a Trust in the Hands of Persons of that *Quality*, and *Interest*, is submitted to better Judgments.

To Conclude; both *Printers*, and *Stationers*, under Colour of Offering a Service to the *Publique*, do Effectually but Design *One upon another*. The *Printers* would beat down the *Book-selling* Trade, by Menaging the *Press* as Themselves please, and by working upon their *own Copies*: The *Stationers*, on the other side, They would Subject the *Printers* to be absolutely *Their Slaves*; which they have Effected in a Large Measure already, by so encreasing the Number, that the One Half must either play the *Knaves*, or *Starve*.

The Dependence of the Printers upon the Stationers is Dangerous.

The *Expedient* for *This*, must be some way to Disengage the *Printers* from that Servile and Mercenary *Dependence* upon the *Stationers*, unto which they are at present subjected. The True State of the Business being as follows.

First, The *Number* of *Master-Printers* is computed to be about 60. whereas 20. or 24. would Dispatch all the Honest work of the Nation.

2dly. These *Sixty Master-Printers* have above 100 *Apprentices* (That is; at least 20 more then they ought to have by the Law.)

3dly, There are, beside *Aliens*, and those that are Free of *other Trades*, at least 150 *Journy-Men*, of which Number, at least 30. are superfluous; to which 30. there will be added about 36. more, beside above 50. *Supernumerary Apprentices*, upon the Reduction of the *Master-Printers* to 24. So that upon the whole Reckoning, there will be left a Matter of

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of 60. *Journy-men*, and 50. *Apprentices*, to Provide for, a part of which Charge might very reasonably be laid upon those that either Bound or Took any of the said Number, as Apprentices, contrary to the Limitation set by Authority.

These *Supernumerary Printers* were at first Introduced by the *Book-sellers*, as a sure way to bring them both to their *Prices*, and *Purposes*; for the Number being greater then could honestly Live upon the Trade, the *Printers* were Enforc'd either to Print *Treason*, or *Sedition*, if the *Stationer* Offered it, or to want *Lawful Work*, by which *Necessity* on the *one* side, and *Power* on the *other*, the Combination became exceeding Dangerous, and so it still Continues; but how to Dissolve it, whether by barely *Dis-incorporating* the *Company of Stationers*, and subjecting the *Printers* to Rules *apart*, and by *Themselves*; or by Making them *Two Distinct Companies*, I do not Meddle.

This only may be Offer'd, that in Case Those *Privileges* and *Benefits* should be Granted, to both *Stationers*, and *Printers*, which they themselves desire in point of *Trade*; yet in regard that *several Interests* are Concern'd, That of the *Kingdom* on the *one* side, and only That of the *Companies* on the *other*; It is but reason that there should be *several Super-intending Powers*, and that the *smaller Interest* should *give place*, and be *Subordinate* to the *Greater*: That is, The *Master*, and *Wardens*, to Menage the Business of their Respective *Trade*, but withall, to be Subjected to some *Superior Officer*, that should over-look them *Both* on behalf of the *Publique*.

Let the care of Printing be Committed to Six Surveighers of the Press.

As the *Powers* of *Licencing* Books, are by the Late Act vested in *several Persons*, with regard to the *several Subjects* Those Books treat of; so may there likewise be *several Agents* Authoris'd and Appointed for the Care of the Press, touching These *several Particulars*, under the *Name*, and *Title* of *Surveyors of the Press*: and every *distinct Surveyor* to keep himself strictly within the Limits of his *own Province*. As for Example.

First,

First, The *Lord Chancellour*, or *Lord Keeper* of the Great Seal of *England* for the time being, the *Lords Chief Justices*, and *Lord Chief Baron* for the time being, or One or More of them, are specially Authoris'd to License, by *Themselves*, or by their *Substitutes*, all Books concerning the *Common Laws* of This Kingdom. One for Law.

Let there be one Surveigher of the Press Constituted peculiarly for That Subject.

2dly. All Books of *Divinity*, *Physique*, *Philosophy*, or whatsoever other *Science*, or *Art*, are to be Licens'd by the *Lord Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, and *Lord Bishop* of *London*, for the time being, or one of them, or by their, or one of Their Appointments, or by either one of the *Chancellours*, or *Vice-Chancellours* of either of the *Universities*, for the time being. Three for Divinity, Physique, *&c i. e.* One for each University and the Third for *London*, &c.

Let Three Other Surveighers of the Press be likewise Authorized for These Particulars.

3dly. All Books concerning *Heraldry*, *Titles of Honour*, and *Arms*, or Concerning the *Office* of *Earl-Marshall*, are to be Licens'd by the *Earl-Marshall* for the time being; or in case there shall not then be an *Earl-Marshal*, by the *Three Kings of Arms* or any *Two* of them, whereof *Garter* to be One. One for Heraldry, *&c.*

This is to be the Subject of Another Surveigher's Care.

4thly. Books of *History*, *Politiques*, *State-Affairs*, and all other *Miscellanies*, or *Treatises*, not comprehended under the Powers before-mentioned, fall under the Jurisdiction of the *Principal Secretaries of State*, to be Allow'd by *Themselves*, or *one* of them, or by their, or one of their Appointments. and Another for State-Affairs, *&c.*

The Care of the Press concerning These Particulars may be another Surveighers Business. So that *six Persons may do the whole work*, with good *Order*, and *Security*.

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Three *Substitutes* for the *Bishops*; and *Chancellours*, and *One* a piece for the *Rest*.

A word now touching the *Encouragements* of these Officers; and Then concerning *Penalties* to be Inflicted upon *Offenders*, and *Rewards* to be Granted to *Informers*.

The *Inward Motive* to all *Publique* and *Honourable Actions* must be taken for granted, to be a Principle of *Loyalty*, and *Justice*: but the Question is here concerning *Outward Encouragements* to *This Particular Charge*. There must be *Benefit*, and *Power*. *Benefit*; that a man may Live *Honestly* upon the *Employment*: and *Power*; for the *Credit*, and *Execution* of the *Trust*.

For Encouragement there must be Benefit and Power.

The *Benefit* must arise *partly* from some *Certain*, and *standing Fee*; and in *Part*, from *Accessary*, and *Contingent Advantages*, which will be but *Few*, and *Small*, in Proportion to the *Trouble* and *Charge* of the *Employment*: for there must be, First; *A Constant Attendance*: and *a Dayly Labour* in hunting out, and over-looking *Books*, and *Presses*: and Secondly, A Contiual *Expense*, in the Enterteynment of Instruments for *Discovery*, and *Intelligence*; which being deducted out of the Pittances of *Licences*, and *Forfeitures*, will leave the *Surveigher* a very *small Proportion* for his *Peyns*.

The Employment being Troublesome and Chargeable.

The next thing is a *Power* to *Execute*; without which, the *Law* is *Dead*, and the *Officer Ridiculous*.

Now concerning Penalties *and* Rewards.

The Inconvenience of small Penalties,

1. The *Gayn* of Printing some Books, is Ten times Greater, if they *Scape*, then the *Loss*, if they be *Taken*: so that the *Damage* bearing such a disproportion to the *Profit*, is rather an *Allurement* to Offend, then a *Discouragement*.

and Rewards.

2. As the *Punishment* is too small, for the *Offender*; so is the *Reward* also, for the *Informer*: for reckon the *Time*, *Trouble*, and *Money*, which it shall cost the *Prosecutour* to Recover his *Allotment*, he shall sit down at last a *Loser* by the Bargain: and more then That, he loses his *Credit*, and *Employment*, over and Above, as a *Betrayer* of his *Fellows*

lows; so great is the *Power* and *Confidence* of the *Delinquent Party*.

The way to help This, is, to *Augment* both the *Punishment*, and the *Reward*; and to Provide that the *Inflicting* of the *One*, and the *Obteyning* of the *Other*, may be both *Easie*, and *Certain*: for to Impose a *Penalty*, and to leave the way of *Raysing* it, so *Tedious*, and *Difficult*, as in This Case hitherto it is; amounts to no more then This: If the *Informer* will *spend Ten Pound* 'tis possible he may *Recover Five*: and so the *Prosecuter* must *Impose a greater Penalty* upon *Himself*, then the *Law* does upon the *Offender*; or Else all comes to Nothing.

Which in Cases of Publique Concern ought to be Deep upon the Delinquent and the Reward Certain and Considerable to the Informer.

An Expedient for this Inconvenience is highly Necessary; and Why *May not the Oath of One Credible Witness or More, before a Master of the Chancery, or a Justice of the Peace, serve for a Conviction*. Especially the Person Accused being Left at Liberty before such Oath taken, either to Appeal to the *Privy-Council*, or to abide the *Decision*.

An Expedient for the Quick and Easie getting of the Penalty.

Now to the several *Sorts* of *Penalties*, and to the *Application* of them.

The Ordinary *Penalties* I find to be *These*; *Death*, *Mutilation*, *Imprisonment*, *Banishment*, *Corporal Peyns*, *Disgrace*, *Pecuniary Mulcts*: which Penalties are to be Apply'd with regard to the *Quality* of the *Offence*, and to the *Condition* of the *Delinquent*.

Penalties.

The *Offence* is either *Blasphemy*, *Heresie*, *Schism*, *Treason*, *Sedition*, *Scandal*, or *Contempt of Authority*.

Offences.

The *Delinquents* are the *Advisers*, *Authors*, *Compilers*, *Writers*, *Printers*, *Correctors*, *Stitchers*, and *Binders* of unlawful Books and Pamphlets: together with all *Publishers*, *Dispersers* and *Concealers* of them in *General*: and all *Stationers*, *Posts*, *Hackny-Coachmen*, *Carryers*, *Boat-men*, *Mariners*. *Hawkers*, *Mercury-Women*, *Pedlers*, and *Ballad-Singers* so offending, in *Particular*.

Delinquents.

Penalties

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Penalties of *Disgrace* ordinarily in Practice are Many, and more may be Added.

Penalties of Disgrace.

Pillory, *Stocks*, *Whipping*, *Carting*, *Stigmatizing*, *Disablement to bear Office*, or *Testimony*. *Publique Recantation*, *standing under the Gallows with a Rope about the Neck*, *at a Publique Execution*. *Disfranchisement* (if Free-men) *Cashiering* (if Souldiers), *Degrading* (if Persons of Condition), Wearing some *Badge* of *Infamy*: Condemnation to *Work* either in *Mines*, *Plantations*, or *Houses of Correction*.

Pecuniary Mulcts.

Under the Head of *Pecuniary Mulcts*, are Comprehended, *Forfeitures*, *Confiscations*, *Loss of any Beneficial Office*, or *Employment*, *Incapacity* to *hold* or *enjoy* any: and Finally, all Damages accruing, and Impos'd, as a Punishment for some Offence.

Touching the *Other Penalties* before-mention'd, it suffices only to have Nam'd them, and so to Proceed to the *Application* of them, with respect to the *Crime*, and to the *Offender*.

The *Penalty* ought to bear Proportion to the *Malice*, and *Influence* of the *Offence*, but with respect to the *Offender* too: for the *same Punishment* (unless it be Death it self) is not the *same Thing* to *several Persons*; and it may be proper enough to Punish *One Man* in his *Purse*, *Another* in his *Credit*; a *Third* in his *Body*, and All for the same Offence.

The *Grand Delinquents* are, the *Authors* or *Compilers*, (which I reckon as all One) the *Printers*, and *Stationers*.

The Authors.

For the *Authors*, nothing can be too *Severe*, that stands with *Humanity*, and *Conscience*. First, 'tis the Way to cut off the *Fountain* of our Troubles. 2dly. There are not many of them in an Age, and so the *less work* to do.

Printers and Stationers to be severely Punish'd.

The *Printer*, and *Stationer*, come next, who beside the *Common Penalties* of *Mony*, Loss of *Copies*, or *Printing-Materials*, may be Subjected to These further *Punishments*.

Let them *Forfeit* the *Best Copy* they have, at the Choice of that *Surveigher* of the *Press*, under whose Cognisance the Offence lyes; the Profit whereof the said Officer shall see

see Thus Distributed *One Third* to the *King*, a *Second* to the *Informer*, reserving the *Remainder* to *himself*.

In some Cases, they may be condemn'd to wear some visible *Badge*, or *Marque* of *Ignominy*, as a *Halter* instead of a *Hat-band*, one Stocking *Blew*, and another *Red*; a *Blew Bonnet* with a *Red T* or *S*. upon it, to Denote the Crime to be Either *Treason*, or *Sedition*; and if at any time, the Person so Condemn'd, shall be found without the said *Badge*, or *Marque*, During the time of his Obligation to wear it, let him Incurre some *further Penalty*, Provided only, that if within the said time, he shall discover and *seize*, or *cause* to be *Seized* any *Author*, *Printer*, or *Stationer*, Liable at the time of That *Discovery* and *Seizure* to be Proceeded against, for the Matter of *Treasonous*, or *Seditious* Pamphlets, the Offender aforesaid shall from the time of that Discovery be Discharg'd from wearing it any Longer.

This Proposal may seem *Phantastique* at first sight; but certainly *there are Many Men who had rather suffer any other Punishment then be made Publiquely Ridiculous*.

It is not Needful here to run through every *Particular*, and to Direct, in What *Manner*, and to What *Degree*, *These*, and *Other Offenders* in the like kind shall be *Punish'd*, so as to *Limit*, and *Appropriate*, the Punishment: but it shall suffice, having Specifi'd the several Sorts of *Offenders*, and *Offences*; to have laid down likewise the several *Species* of *Penalties*, Sortable to every Man's *Condition*, and *Crime*.

Concerning *Rewards*, something is said already, and I shall only Add for a Conclusion, that they are every jot as *Necessary* as *Punishments*; and ought to be *various*, according to the Several *Needs*, *Tempers*, and *Qualities* of the Persons upon whom they are to be *Conferr'd*. *Mony* is a *Reward* for *One*; *Honour* for *Another*: and *either* of these *Misplac'd*, would appear rather a *Mockery*, than a *Benefit*.

The End.

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